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ABSTRACT

This paper describes an episode in the history of journalism that reveals a continuing tension in news reporting. Dating from the invention of the telegraph in the late nineteenth century, news reports have been increasingly patterned after either a "scientific" or a "literary" model. The scientific report is based on irreducible facts, high-speed national communication networks, the professionalization of the journalist, and an integrated social foundation for the newspaper. The literary perspective is a more conservative approach to news writing, based on the integrity of feelings, personal observations, interpretations, and opinions, with an essentially local and individualistic organization of society. Although no resolution to the conflicting perspectives has been reached, a few scholars, such as Robert Ezra Park and John Dewey, attempted to find a balance between the two perspectives. The debate continues today, in similar terms, between proponents of new journalism and precision journalism. A bibliography is included. (Author/RL)

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THE TELEGRAPH AND THE NEWS REPORT

James W. Carey* and Norman Sims**

Looking back over his life from 1907, Henry Adams fixed the precise moment when the United States entered the modern world, the instant of the shift from the old universe of genteel New England to that of industrial America, in 1844: "the opening of the Boston and Albany Railroad; the appearance of the first Cunard steamers in the bay; and the telegraphic message which carried from Baltimore to Washington the news that Henry Clay and James K. Polk were nominated for the Presidency." The points of departure Adams chose to mark the old from the new universe were, significantly, three changes in communications technology.

The last event, the innovation of the telegraph, can stand metaphorically for all the innovations which ushered in the modern phase of history and which has determined, even to this day, the major lines of development of American communication. First, it allowed for the first time for the separation of communication from transportation. While this fact was immediately recognized, the significance of it rarely has been investigated. The telegraph not only allowed messages to be separated from the physical movement of objects, it also allowed communication to actively control physical processes. The early use of the telegraph in railroad signalling is an example: telegraphic messages could control the physical switching of rolling stock thereby multiplying the purposes and effectiveness of communication. The separation of communication from transportation has been exploited in most subsequent developments in communication down to present day computer control systems.

Secondly, the telegraph brought a change in the nature of reporting, of knowledge, of the very structures of awareness. While the telegraph in its

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early days was used as a toy--like the computer which it prefigures, for the playing of long distance chess--its implications for human knowledge were the subject of extended, often euphoric and often pessimistic debate. Adams saw the telegraph as the demonic device dissipating the energy of history and displacing the Virgin by the Dynamo, while Thoreau saw it as an agent of trivialization. It will bring us the news, he said, that "Princess Adelaide has the whooping cough." An even larger group saw the telegraph as an agency of benign improvement, spiritual, moral, economic and political. Now that thought could travel by "the singing wire" a new form of reporting and a new form of knowledge was envisioned that would replace traditional literature with a new and active form of scientific knowledge.

Reporters have quickly recognized in the last decade the conflict between "precision" journalism and the "new" or "romantic" journalism. The fact that this debate first surfaced in the Progressive Era along with the recognition of the effects of the telegraph unfortunately has been obscured or forgotten in the passage of years. Even more obscured is the relationship of reporting as an activity to technology and social organization. But the conflict touched off by the telegraph--capsulized here under the terms "literary" and "scientific" reporting--is indeed an old debate. The seeds of the "precision" versus "romantic" reporting controversy were sown with the crackling electric impulses on the telegraph wires.

The technology of the telegraph and the history of American newspapers are connected in ways that are well known. For the purpose of this paper, we will focus on the neglected argument which the telegraph set off about the nature of journalism, of news and the newspaperman, and about the social organization of the newspress that remains with us, even if in altered form, until this day. This argument, traced out here at some length, reveals some of the persistent dilemmas of modern journalism and the intellectual strategies used to cope with them.

The effects of the telegraph were first clearly understood as early as the depression of 1873. Recognition of the changes in journalism and communication

fostered by the telegraph brought with it two differing responses. One branch of thought we have labeled "scientific" reporting. Scientific reporting was a vision for a future organization of society based on the new dynamics centered around the telegraph. The news report of the future would supercede the literature, and the literary consciousness, of the past. It was to be tied to an irreducible, statistical order of facts documenting the state of the social organism. A new, professional role was expected to emerge for the reporter. As "diurnal man," the reporter would occupy a critical position in the social order midway between scholars and the public. Finally, the newspaper itself would be set upon a new foundation. The hopes and aspirations of the scientific attitude rested on the possibilities of a new form of social intelligence, achieved through the workings of the newspaper, which could establish an integrated republic and an ordered social life.

Arrayed in opposition to this vision was the more conservative "literary" approach to reporting. This view insisted on the integrity of feelings, personal observations, interpretations and opinions, and an essentially local and individualistic organization of society. For this group, the telegraph represented not only a threat to the revered forms of social organization and literature, it also offered a vision of man thrown mentally off balance. The speed and excitement of the electronic medium led many to believe it the cause of a destabilizing nervous disease. From the literary view, the ideal reporter was seen as "vernacular man," linked to a local public rather than to national elites. The literary perspective also envisioned the newspaper as a democratic organ. But its democratic character would come from community associations, not from its integrating position in a national society.

These differences were not merely matters of writing style. The argument could not be resolved by applying a scientific style of writing to a particular set of reports and a literary style elsewhere when it seemed appropriate. The

argument was founded on higher ground. At heart was the question of what was worth knowing, and, secondarily, where the scientific or literary reports of experience might lead. More than mere technique in writing was at stake; the ability of the telegraph to alter forms of thought and the nature of community life was debated as a threat and a promise.

We have chosen to represent the scientific view of journalism by Franklin Ford, an economic journalist who wrote several theoretical tracts at the turn of the century outlining a vision of journalism in the future. Ford's writings introduced a temper of thought that had a vast and direct influence on the only group of American scholars to take the newspaper seriously, the Chicago School of Social Thought. The literary view of reporting will be illustrated here by drawing upon the work of medical researcher George Miller Beard, and by journalist and author Charles Dudley Warner. In a concluding section, we will follow the debate as it took shape in scholarly writing in the twentieth century.

The Scientific Report

The goal of certain progressive thinkers was not merely the transformation of journalism into an efficient, expert, managed enterprise. They wanted the transformation to reach beyond the surface techniques of reporting to the spiritual core of society itself, in which case journalism would become the agent of a renewed and integrated modern community. In the 1890's an innovative New York journalist named Franklin Ford developed just such a vision for a "new sense of news." Ford himself is an obscure and forgotten person. He would be unknown today but for the direct and significant influence of his ideas on the Chicago School of Social Thought, and particularly on John Dewey.

In Outlines of a Critical Theory of Ethics Dewey expressed his debt to his friend Franklin Ford for the treatment of the social bearings of science and art. In a clarifying letter to William James, Dewey further developed this indebtedness:

> Ford, who was a newspaper man (formerly editor of Bradstreet's in New York) with no previous philosophical training had been led by his newspaper experience to study as a practical question the social bearings of intelligence and its distribution. That is to say, he was on a paper and wanted to inquire. The paper would not let him: the more he was stopped, the more his desire to inquire was aroused, until finally he was drawn into a study of the whole matter--especially as he found that it was not any one newspaper, but rather the social structure, which prevented freedom of inquiry. Well, he identified the question of inquiry with, in philosophical terms, the question of the relation of intelligence to the objective world--is the former free to move in relation to the latter or not? So he studied out the following questions: (1) the conditions and effects of the distribution of intelligence especially with reference to inquiry, or the selling of truth as a business; (2) the present (or past) hindrances to its free play, in the way of class interests; or (3) the present conditions in the railway, telegraph, etc., for effectively securing the freedom of intelligence, that is, its movement in the world of social fact; and (4) the resulting social organization. That is, with inquiry as a business, the selling of truth for money, the whole would have a representative as well as the various classes,--a representative whose belly interest, moreover, is identical with its truth interest. Now I am crudely reducing what was a wonderful personal experience to a crude bit of cataloging, but I hope it may arouse your interest in the man and his work.

The "wonderful experience" Dewey was referring to in his arch way was a paper of Ford's entitled Draft of Action.* Unfortunately, Dewey and Ford did

*Draft of Action is available only at the University of Michigan Library. All quotes, unless otherwise noted, are taken from it.

not help one another get things very clear and Ford's paper is as opaque as Dewey's letter. Nonetheless Ford's paper does express in more extended form ideas that ran fugitively through Dewey's writings. Moreover, Ford, who was something of a personality, seems to have had influence on G. H. Mead, Robert Park and Charles Horton Cooley as well as others he encountered at Ann Arbor.

Dewey went on to tell James that he had gotten two things out of Ford's paper. First, "the true or practical bearing of idealism..." In Dewey's rendition idealism was the doctrine that asserted the unity of intelligence and the external world subjectively in idea. If this unity were true, however, it must, then, secure the

condition of its subjective expression. Second, Ford's paper suggested to him this subjective unity was to become an objective part of the world:

> I believe that a tremendous movement is impending, when the intellectual forces which have been gathering since the Renascense and Reformation, shall demand complete free movement and, by getting their physical leverage in the telegraph and printing press shall through free inquiry in a centralized way, demand the authority of all other authorities.

Dewey and Ford shared the conviction that the growth of the telegraph overlaid upon earlier developments in printing had created the material basis for a national society. However, this society was dormant as a spiritual, psychical, idealist reality. For the emergence of a national community out of a national society they looked to the union of modern communications technology (the material basis) with science (inquiry) as the agent of a shared intelligence. Ford shared this hope and "Draft of Action" was an attempt to present a practical justification for the aspiration. Now that space was eclipsed the opportunity was present:

> The great extent of the United States, the bigness of the country has compelled the elimination of distance. But this was only to prepare the way for the organization of its intelligence and the correlation therewith of the intelligence of the whole world...Democracy in America is not organized till we have consciously brought its intelligence to a center and have related it to the past, that the light might be had for the morrow's guidance. The means of communication are in place but these could not be brought to the highest use until the realities flowing out from the locomotive and the telegraph, their spiritual meaning should be wrought out...

Dewey, at his most mystical, similarly suggested that "when the emotional force, the mystical force one might say of communication, of the miracle of shared life and shared experience is spontaneously felt, the hardness and crudeness of contemporary life will be bathed in a light that never was on land and sea."*

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*John Dewey, Reconstruction in Philosophy, Boston, 1920, p. 211.

Under Ford's influence Dewey saw the spiritual meaning of the new technology:

> It is no accident that the growing organization of democracy coincided with the rise of science including the machinery of

> telegraph and locomotive for distributing truth. There is but one fact--the more complete movement of man to his unity with his fellows through realizing the truth of life.*

*John Dewey, "Christianity and Democracy," Religious Thought at Michigan, Ann Arbor 1920, pp. 67-68.

This advance in technology needed now the evolution of the newspaper and the development of the professional journalist to unleash a spiritualized science and a realized national community. According to Ford,

> the daily newspaper holds the key to future development... advances in the newspaper until now have been so many improvements in the physical machinery which the newspaper uses...the newspaper has now at its service a perfect working machine, the printing press, the locomotive, the telegraph and their belongings...The advance movement rendered possible by this discovery must in the nature of things be the sum of all previous advances being nothing less than a new ordering of intelligence. There comes in a change in the power of thought--a forward movement in consciousness. The need has been set about organizing intelligence by the new light; this to compel a prime movement in literature with the daily newspaper as its centre of motion.

Who was Franklin Ford, this gay inspiration to Dewey and others in the midwest, this visionary, who early on saw the radical potential in the new machinery of communication?

Few details of Franklin Ford's life are known outside of his influence on Dewey. From 1880-87 he was editor of Bradstreet's newspaper in New York. Bradstreet's Investigating Company was founded as a mercantile information firm by the enterprising Cincinnati lawyer John M. Bradstreet in 1859. It was the forerunner of Dun and Bradstreet, created by a merger with R. G. Dun and Company in 1933. These mercantile credit reporting companies were in certain respects the first large scale, national commercial information services in the United States. The services started after the panic of 1837 and by the Civil War, Dun's had a national system for gathering confidential credit information with lawyers as "stringers" in small western towns. The business rested on national organization,

high speed communication which made Dun's a pioneer in the use of new communications technology, and, most importantly, on unshakeable confidence in the truthfulness of the information it provided. Such firms had to be absolutely independent of the commercial system they served. As we shall see, Ford's experience as an editor in this sytem shaped many of his ideas concerning the newspaper of the future. After leaving Bradstreet's at the age of thirty-four, Ford traveled widely during the next year and a half and discussed his futuristic ideas with a number of newspapermen and scholars, most importantly with Dewey. These ideas are found in "Draft of Action," written at Ann Arbor in 1892. After a stay of about nine years in his home state of Michigan, Ford married and returned to New York, where in 1897 he wrote a tract on the potential power of central clearing houses for bank checks. In 1903 he restated many of his ideas about journalism in a treatise on municipal reform. It was in "Draft of Action," however, that Ford first presented his vision of a revolution in the publishing industry and of the consequences inherent in the new technologies of steam-power and telegraphy.*

*Details of Ford's life are found in The Detroit Evening News, May 7, 1897, p. 1.

John Dewey may have been most attracted to Franklin Ford because of Ford's remarkable foresight, or his ability to predict the consequences for society of changes in communications technology. In a later writing, for instance, Ford recognized that the newly created central clearing house for bank checks in New York had also created a new potential center of power over the nation's banking firms. The bank check had become a bill of exchange and thus followed trade and communication. In an era when the main political battles were over a gold versus a silver currency, Ford recognized that the bank check and the ability to telegraph credit from city to city had destroyed gold as a carrier of credit and replaced it with paper.* His "Draft of Action" rests on a similar analysis of the

*The Country Check, New York, 1899.

reorganization of society because of the telegraph and the locomotive. Ford's proposal was for the creation of a scientific report--scientific in the sense of organization and content. The results were to be sweeping. Thus Ford began "Draft of Action" with this declaration:

> The time has come when it will pay to act on the reality underlying the existing newspaper. The barriers down, i.e., all hinderances to the free movement of intelligence removed, through the completion of the machine for the gathering and distributing [of] news, (this machine consisting of the printing press, the locomotive, the telegraph and their belongings) the newspaper presents itself to us as a unified thing--the business of scaling intelligence. In this way the journalist, hereafter the typical man of letters, comes to have a definite position in life independent of all vocations, professions, or trades. He has a commodity of his own--the truth.

With the "perfect working machine" for gathering and distributing news in hand, society had only to await what Ford referred to as "a change in the power of thought -- a forward movement in consciousness." The exact nature of this "movement" was most frequently stated in a variety of organicist metaphors. At one point Ford described this "movement" as a new form of literature. The material base of society had changed, he declared, but "the social body is still under the direction of pre-locomotive ideas."

> The clear departure had to wait on the American idea,--the third fact of the century. The first fact of the century was the locomotive, the second the electric wire. The third is the spiritual outcome of these new physical agencies, or the resulting conception of life. Through the elimination of distance and its social rendering we have a flood of new ideas, making the new American literature for which the world has been waiting.

A new publishing business was compelled by the consequences of the locomotive and the telegraph. The "spiritual recognition" of this was, in Ford's scheme, to be based on the principle of journalism as intelligence itself, and of intelligence as a commodity which one could sell in the marketplace. Ford's vision was technological and commercial, and as such, entirely in tune with his times. Stated another way, Ford believed the outcome of the telegraph and railroad was the full

circulation of news throughout the social body. Journalism itself was equated with the "all-embracing principle of intelligence" and its quality was "determined by the quickness and certainty of communication."*

*Municipal Reform, a Scientific Question, New York, 1903, p. 23.

For someone possessed of a new and vibrant notion of news, Ford was remarkably vague and unspecific as to what it was. Like many with a mission it was clearer what he was against; what he was for he took to be self-evident. He opposed, in particular, editorials as an "ineffective form of preaching." With Robert Park he felt that a "reporter with the facts was a more effective reformer than an editorial writer thundering from the pulpit." He savaged the editorial page as a "sort of 'church' maintained for the spurious man of letters, i.e., for the writers as against the inquiry men, the reporters." The editorial was sheltered behind "certain notions as to its ethical value...," but they were utilized solely as a substitute for adequate fact, for information.

Ford opposed, as well, what he called personal intelligence--the comings and goings of particular people, social news, puffery, and what we would today call public relations: "the selling of two errors in place of one truth."

Ford most opposed in the newspaper of his day what he called class interest. He meant something rather special by this phrase for he was in no conceivable sense a Marxist, socialist or even a populist. While he attacked the class bias of the news and the newspaper, he did not do so in the name of the people or the proletariat but in the name of a profession he was attempting to bring into existence. The 1890's was a period in which a new class was forming in American life. This was a time when the major professional societies either came into existence or assumed their modern character. The cadres of experts which have long since usurped effective control of modern institutions and bureaucracies--lawyers, social workers, professional managers, engineers, accountants--were formed during

this time into self-consciousness national groups represented by professional societies and aware of their role as a new class leading social reform. Ford was a participant in this movement attempting to professionalize journalists by demonstrating they were linked to a common national mission, possessing a unique body of knowledge, and worthy of a new status. The profession had failed to emerge because it, and the newspaper, was tied to commercial and plutocratic elites and purposes and not to professional ones. Ford was not objecting to the earning of profits from the news business; in fact, he felt he had found a way to make the news business more profitable. Nor was he suggesting that the existing arrangements prevented the truth from emerging, though that was part of his complaint. He argued that the newspaper reflected a structure of interests and feelings that were pretty much dictated by the existing structure of commerce. The newspaper distributed other people's facts, other people's opinions, other people's interest: it did not cater to its own interests as a news business nor did it present the facts as seen from the peculiar perspective of the news organization. Alas, news interests and news facts turn out to be those of the society as a whole:

> The men of the physical commerce are so far in possession or in control of the newspaper that the edge of inquiry is turned. In great part the advertisers are editing the paper--that is insofar as it is edited at all. Not having discovered as yet that he has a business of his own, through possessing the commodity intelligence, the newspaper publisher is as yet under the heel of class interest.

This class interest was reflected not merely in the selection, exclusion and play of news but, above all, in the absence of a unifying principle of knowledge:

> The papers were filled with unrelated matter which was lacking in general interest; the generic thing, the life element in news, was absent. Merely individual things had come to be widely mistaken for news. The newspaper was off the track, was caught in its own machinery. The physical advance--better printing facilities, cheaper paper and the like--had outrun the spiritual movement. The only way out of the confusion, the only way to new life and meaning, was through organizing intelligence.

The task of journalism was the organization of intelligence and news but intelligence in something like the military sense of that word. Such intelligence was, in turn, the body of knowledge of journalists which supported their professional claim and the systematic gathering of it would transform journalists from hired hands to a professional class; indeed into the queen of the professions, if that is not too effeminate a metaphor. Intelligence was nothing other than truth and fact. Now all this is opaque and circular and Ford had little to say concerning the epistemological and methodological basis of these critical terms. But in "Draft of Action" he did erect a model of the mechanism necessary for the gathering and disseminating of truth and fact, though it remained rather like telling a miner how to dig rather than instructing him on how to recognize gold.

Ford believed that truth was a commodity, and that it should be sold. This process of discovery and dissemination was called publicity. These terms had none of the invidious connotations they subsequently acquired. A commodity was any substantial public object--something objective. Publicity was a synonym for communication in the most favorable sense of this term: knowledge of objects, of the objective world made widely, publically available. What was necessary was to convince journalists they were trading not in private, personal and class effluvia but in public intelligence: the most widely shared, veridical knowledge that systematic inquiry could make available, and then to induce them to construct a profitable mechanism to gather and disseminate it.

Ford took his model of intelligence and organization, first from Bradstreet's, the company that employed him, and second, and most importantly, from an organic conception of society that under the influence of Herbert Spencer was very much the vogue in the late 19th century.

This nation-wide organization of commercial credit information implanted the germ for reforming journalism. His only objection to the system was that it was redundant: there were two services available--Dun and Bradstreet--where only one

was necessary. Moreover, its scope was too limited: he daily received requests from clients that the limited scope of Bradstreet's operation prevented him from servicing. Ford said the idea for the new organization of journalism came to him while he was at Bradstreet's:

> I received one day...a letter from a man of business asking if he could get a report on the agricultural conditions and situation in a given belt of country in a western state. He had been asked to have to do with building a railrod through the region indicated and wanted the lay of the land. This inquiry could not be made as there was no fit machinery for the purpose at command...Other like inquiries coming to me, I was prompted to organize for such work -- to bring in an association of experts. Getting no sympathy for my ideas from the executives of the Bradstreet Company, I saw more clearly than had previously been possible that the Bradstreet organization and that of the mercantile agencies in general could on the whole only compass the gathering and sale of rumor.

But the organization gave him a model of truth and of the necessary commercial independence of journalism. Journalism must be as reliable as credit ratings, as independent of commercial pressure, and based on the same order of facts. Facts--brute irreducible realities were the stuff of journalism: not opinions, not interpretations, not rumors or fancies reported from others. Like credit ratings it had to be gathered, systematized, and disseminated. But like credit ratings it would speak for itself, require no elaborate interpretation or editorials to spark understanding or action. Today we would say he was declaring the province of journalism to be that of social indicators: a universal, objective fact service detailing the state of the social organism.

The last metaphor is deliberately chosen, for Ford's system was held together by the evocative power of the notion of society as an organism. In his view the "communications revolution" had knit the country into a thoroughly integrated system like the human body. All it needed was a brain. As Dewey often put it, we were in the lap of an immense intelligence awaiting to be released. The release would come when the dormant intelligence was set free by a spiritual

organization parallel to the physical integration that already existed. Ford compared the news service he was proposing to the arteries of the organism, though to strictly parallel Spencer, the arteries should be reserved for transport while the nervous system was for communication. The press stands to society as the mind does to the body. Critical to this view is the belief that there is an order of fact that describes the body and not merely the parts of it and this description is as unambiguous factually as are biological counters. To demonstrate the reach of fact Ford declared:

> There is no more reason for confusion in political science than there is for two multiplication tables. It is a question of the advance of inquiry, of a further invasion of art.

Ford was not suggesting that newspapers serve as vehicles for the judgments of political scientists and sociologists. He specifically warns his audience against writing about sociologists and recommends instead the creation of a sociological newspaper: an independent statement of the irreducible facts of social life wedded to a systematic machinery of inquiry.

In 1892, Ford saw that the railroad and telegraph had released a flood of new ideas. New thinking had to follow upon these developments, in the form of a new publishing industry, a unified commerce, and even a new literary consciousness.

Ford argued that the sheer size of the United States compelled the elimination of distance as a first priority of politics. This was accomplished, though few seemed to recognize it, but it was only prelude. Now it was necessary

to organize the intelligence this physical conquest set free. To this end he projected a new model of the news business he called the intelligence triangle. Its significance is that it was the first clear proposal for what we would now call a computer information utility, though projected at a much simpler level of technology. To match the new physical dimensions of life he proposed an organization that would combine the wire services, a library and reference service, daily and weekly newspapers, professional and trade journals, and a mercantile information service into a nationally integrated and differentiated monopolistic agency.

The organization was based upon a simple but critical assumption: while there are but one set of facts that adequately describe the social organism each fact in turn had three sides to it or three interests pertaining to it: individual, class and whole. An event--let us say a hail storm in Texas--has three interests. First, it affected the social whole or people in their most general roles as citizens and consumers. The hail storm has a general effect upon the economy, the level of prices in beef and grain and a radiating set of general consequences. Second, the hail storm has a class significance to those engaged in the grain and cattle trades: producers, farm workers, cooperatives. Third, the storm has an individual interest as well: the man thinking of buying or selling some particular piece of Texas land or to purchase a commodity future. Three facts then from one event--general, class and individual--each at a different level of depth and generality.

The intelligence triangle was designed to merge these three interests in one organization and to lower the price of serving each. The interests of the whole would be met by the News Association centralized in New York though organized throughout the nation on a county by county basis. The News Association would own the major New York papers, a controlling share in papers in other major cities and then feed like a wire service the lesser papers. It would itself produce

three daily papers: the Newsbook, a political paper reporting fully all significant events; the Town, a lesser daily reporting the same facts but aimed more at the ordinary housewife and homeowner; and the Daily Want containing all advertising insofar as it is news and personal items (classified and self publicity).

The News Association would then take the same facts and re-market them on a class basis publishing journals such as Grain, Fruit, Politics, serving specialized professional and occupational groups. Third it would then serve individuals by offering a library and reference service for those who need to go beyond the first two renderings. This third agency, which he called in an uncharacteristic fit of immodesty, "Fords," would serve any individual need for information, even that of the disturbed mind. They would "apply at its counters for the relieving fact. The great specialists in mental science would be found at its counters." Ford then is the universal fact shop for individuals.

Three reports were derived from one event--general, class and individual--each at a different level of depth and generality, and each providing a profit to the organization. "The publishing business," wrote Ford, "is the one industry conducted on national lines which allows nearly all its by-products to go to waste."*

*Municipal Reform, p. 21.

The intelligence triangle would remedy that. The News Association would report the general interest and feed other major newspapers like a wire service. The Class News Company would re-market the same facts in its trade journals while the same facts were resold a third time to clients at the universal truth shops, offering much the same as a library reference service.

Ford's plan rested on something similar to the famously successful Penny Press formula of "something for everyone." Only Ford envisioned an immensely more profitable formula of "everything for someone." Every person's interest would be covered by the general, class or personal services offered through the intelligence

trust. The organization would blanket the country with a news service integrated and made possible by the locomotive and telegraph, gathering every significant piece of intelligence and re-selling it to the different markets.

Ford recognized that the existing wire services performed some of these activities already but he argued against their ability to provide an adequately integrated service. "There cannot be," he asserts, "two centres, one for gathering and distributing news, the other for printing it." The wire services were, in short, obsolete. They competed with one another, did not gather the full intelligence and did not service the class and individual interests. The only justification of the AP was to pool and divide the cost of news transmission. But this function had disappeared: transmission costs were but a "bagatelle and as there is no longer any bar to communication a new principle of association is demanded."

The key to Ford's proposal was that it would be a centralized national service using New York as its base. It was therefore merely an extension of the historic development of communication traffic, though justified now by organic metaphors. The trade press was wasteful, he thought, because it was not centrally organized, there was missing and overlapped coverage and it offered no service to the individual.

Ford felt that the physical equipment was in place to construct a gigantic news and intelligence machine paralleling in the realm of knowledge the grid-like coverage and integration of the railroad and telegraph. Such a new organization would render the existing press obsolete and blanket the nation with a layer of intelligence matching the size and structural diversity of the country.

The entire country would be divided into districts for the collection of news, and each local fact would be dealt with in light of the whole. "Such an authoritative exchange of news must organize on "New York as with other lines of trade, and a new centre is needed to facilitate the movement. Without concentration

on New York a wide exchange of information is impossible," wrote Ford.*

*Municipal Reform, p. 32.

The News Association would signal as well the death of the book, magazine--of literature generally--for these forms lacked the speed, reach and factualness of the newspaper. The book, in particular, drew his fire:

> At the doors of the News Association the distinction between journalism and literature breaks down. There are no books--there are only newspapers--there are no newspapers only books. The prediction of the Frenchman Lamartine that the ultimate book was to be the newspaper comes true. Literature becomes the recorded movement of ideas--of life. That is, the publishing business gets its unity through detection of its proper commodity--news. The commodity discovered the business organizes...Under this conception each publication, newspaper, leaflet or book is the size of the news. Nothing is put out beyond leaflet size save as compelled by the volume of intelligence. No padded books or papers which impress by their volume and so to make high prices will be issued. Given intelligence as commodity, the transfer is made from the "book business" to the goods business. High prices are no longer necessary to support literary men and "ideas"--as on the endowment principle...Here is the literary revolution. This does not consist in reprinting old books at new prices but in selling new intelligence in such volume as to compel a reforming of publishing methods.

Here Ford is engaged in one of his most delicious tasks: an assault on ideas in the name of fact, on overblown books in the name of newspapers, on literature in the name of news, on self-publicizing authors in the name of anonymous inquiring reporters. The journalist is the new representative man of letters and the news agency displaces the salon and university as the new agency of intelligence: a new product, a new organization, a new profession.

His attack was also extended to competing newspapers and to the concept of localism. He complains of cities like New York and Chicago where there are a half dozen deliveries of one fact: six or seven papers selling the same news. This competition or, better, duplication came about

> when the difficulty of getting at the fact--the whole truth--put a premium on opinion. With distance gone the access to fact is complete. In this light the superfluous daily pages

> in the leading cities are seen to be survivals from the age of opinion--they are medieval. Their displacement only waits upon the centralized action.

Moreover, the newspapers are to be freed from local moorings. There is no strictly community interest, only national, class and individual interests. Therefore what is gathered locally as news is to be reported from the standpoint of those tripartite interests and not what the facts mean for, let us say, Chicago or the communities within the city. As the reporters of the news association draw their pay from the central office they are "freed from the control of local prejudice. The local fact is everywhere dealt with in the light of the whole thus compelling the highest sensations."

This highly centralized, integrated, differentiated news system would be open, Ford realized, to the charge of monopoly but he readily dismissed it. The news organization, he declared, would demand new concepts of jurisprudence. They were not monopolizing the truth; they were gathering it and disseminating it. No new business could charge the trust with monopoly for an additional news agency was merely redundant: to do twice what was already being done once. There were no shades of opinion to be represented, only facts which when in the possession of all would command common thought and judgment. Opinion was medieval, obviated by the new technology which by conquering space and time put everyone in the same relation to the same facts and compelled agreement. The new era allowed for an end to the notion of checks and balances--the essential of the competitive doctrine--as a justification for freedom of the press. This is the "last of checks and balances" he thundered, "the end of Calhounism." The social system, echoing Spencer, provided its own balance. The principle of the grand division of labor meets the last behest of Carlyle: "How in conjunction with inevitable democracy indispensable sovereignty is to exist." Alas, the newspaper is a natural monopoly.

The final supporting pillar of Ford's proposal was a new status for the reporter himself. The reporter or as Ford renamed him, the "diurnal man," held the central position in his scheme. This new status was part of the bureaucratic thought and organization sweeping the fields of law, medicine, management and education in the 1890's. Ford sought to professionalize journalists by demonstrating they were linked to a common national mission, in possession of a unique body of knowledge, and worthy of a new respect. The reporter now had his own commodity: the truth. He was to be the "diurnalist," the replacement for the typical man of letters.

The position of the reporter in Ford's scheme points to the second sense in which the report would be "scientific," its content. The reporter would be in league with the university scholar. The scientific inquiry conducted in universities could find dissemination through journalism. The result would free the scholar to scientifically study the physiology of the state, and free the reporter to convey the truth about social organization.

The image of the reporter as "diurnal man" which one finds in Ford's writing is heroic. The reporter stands above the social organism, one hand reaching out to the scientists or "inquiry men" of the universities, the other hand possessing the communications technology necessary to transmit the facts. Ford's writing is saturated with organic metaphors owing a debt to Herbert Spencer and to the "dynamic sociology" of Lester Frank Ward. In proposing a link between the daily newspaper and the university, Ford reached the pinnacle in organicism. "Developed to the full on the inquiry side, the university becomes a center of action. The university is at one with science, with commerce which is everywhere becoming scientific. The university is then a ganglion in the nervous system of the state."

The metaphor of the nervous system is thoroughly appropriate to the scientific vision of the report and presages the use of the computer in today's "precision" journalism. The newspaper would provide the university with an avenue to the outside world, with daily contact. And the university would provide the newspaper with scientific inquiry, essential to reporting the state of the social body. The newspaper-university cooperation would be the central exchange for intelligence. Together they would rest atop the social organism as a head in relation to the body.

This "ganglion" of the newspaper-university link represented his hopes for a centralizing organization "for the country and the world."*

*Municipal Reform, p. 32.

But in this plan there lurked the same imperialism and nativism that was most always and everywhere the counter-currency of the humane aspirations of the "90's." In conclusion Ford summoned up the image of the Anglo-Saxon hegemony which made mockery of the unity found in the philosophy of organicism:

> Great significance is bound up in the fact that it is English speaking men who are to bring in intelligence to a centre and distribute it. In this is finally certified the power resting in the hands of England and the United States jointly. Mr. Gladstone writing of the English and American people said:
>
> > 'They with their vast range of uninhabited territory and their unity of tongue are mssters of the world, which will have to do as they do.'

Ford's proposals have never quite taken root in American communication in the form they proposed. Yet they have mirrored a general pattern of development and a general motive as well. In recent proposals for the development of modern communications technology his ideas are more or less faithfully re-echoed. But the determining notions since the 1890's were there in embryo: the need for nationally integrated communications, for a journalistic epistemology based upon the sanctity of the fact, a naive faith that shared information dissolves social disagreement,

that opinion is medieval, that commerce will provide the model of human communication, and that technology and science are the twin solvents of our difficulties.

The Literary Report

In contrast to Ford's expert reporter or "diurnal man," the literary journalist was seen as "vernacular man," the observer of local affairs who was in tune with the common sense and logic of the small town or neighborhood. Literary critics felt it was impossible for the benefits of steam-power and electrictty to suspend in solution all of the diverse interests and conflicts of the small towns and the myriad small enclaves of custom and tradition existing within the metropolis. In fact, a deep suspicion of the telegraph and railroad existed among this group. Critics of the newspaper who believed in the literary style of reporting developed an argument partly based on a new nervous disease known as neurasthenia. Most expressions of this criticism in the late nineteenth century were, of course, mainly addressed against the sensational journals of the day rather than to anything resembling Franklin Ford's ideas. But different perspectives nevertheless emerged from the literary style of reporting when it came to the sanctity of the fact, the historic centralization of communications, and the ultimate effects of the telegraph and steam-power on the human system and upon literature.

Central to the literary criticism of the newspaper was the work of George Miller Beard, a post-Civil War medical researcher who specialized in diseases of the nervous system. From the beginning of his career in 1866 until his death in 1882 he published several books and articles on the effects of electricity and steam-power on the human organism. Like anyone with an explanatory idea, Beard had disciples and detractors. One contemporary neuro-anatomist, while acknowledging Beard's influence, called him "a kind of Barnum of American medicine." But within a couple years of publication of his most influential work, American

Nervousness (1881), speakers at medical conventions and press critics alike were claiming that the organization of modern society based on steam-power, the telegraph, and the periodical press was "undoubtedly" the cause of an increase in nervous disease. According to a medical historian, Beard was one of the first to recognize that the demands made by society upon the individual might be an essential factor in mental illness, and thus was in a sense a forerunner of Freud.*

*Charles E. Rosenberg, "Introduction," American Nervousness (Arno Press, 1972), also in "The Place of George M. Beard in Nineteenth-Century Psychiatry," Bulletin of the History of Medicine, 36 (1962), p. 245-59.

Beard's critique of modern society was clear, but his conclusions were ambivalent. "The chief and primary cause of this development and very rapid increase of nervousness is modern civilization," he wrote, "which is distinguished from the ancient by these five characteristics: steampower, the periodical press, the telegraph, the sciences, and the mental activity of women."* Nervous exhaustion was

*American Nervousness, p. v.

most prevalent in the north and east portions of the United States because the characteristics of modern society were more highly developed there than anywhere else in the world. Modern nervousness was blamed on man's dependence on clocks and watches and a precise sense of time, the intensified competition fostered by the telegraph, the noise of civilization, the "unpleasant sensations" caused by railway travel, the multiplied burdens of business, the tensions in Protestantism, the habit of forethought and the shrinking size of the world. "The discovery of America, like the invention of printing, prepared the way for modern nervousness; and, in connection with the telegraph, the railway, and the periodical press increased a hundred-fold the distress of humanity," Beard wrote.* Despite this

*American Nervousness, p. 133.

damning indictment of the modern world, Beard felt the weakening of the nerve force, over-sensitiveness and excitability characteristic of nervousness would in the long run contribute to increased longevity. Everywhere the greatest geniuses were the most susceptible to nervousness but also the longest-lived creatures, he thought, and thus the United States was destined to become the greatest of nations.

Beard's diagnosis of this malaise influenced expression in several arenas. Some writers who were arguing the relative merits of the country over the city found nervousness to be a malignant outgrowth of city living. Much literary criticism of journalism in periodical journals, although tied to the traditions and concerns of the Old World and to the elite culture of New England, held one belief in common with the scientific camp: steam-power and the telegraph had rearranged the foundations of society. One writer argued that facts were not the pure, impartial data envisioned by Franklin Ford, "for behind every fact lies a moral no less than an intellectual cause." Others accused contemporary publications of transforming journalism from the periodical expression of thought into an agency for collecting trivialities, or claimed the newspaper report and telegraph were producing a hasty and shallow account of the world.* More important for our

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*See, for example, "Voices of Power, Atlantic Monthly 53 (1884), p. 177; Atlantic Monthly 68 (1891), p. 689-90; The Spectator (London) 63 (1889) p. 631-32. Similar articles were published in McClure's, The Forum, and Chamber's Journal of Popular Literature (Edinburgh).

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purposes was the direct application of Beard's ideas to criticism of the newspaper report.

Charles Dudley Warner was the earliest newspaper critic to use Beard's ideas. Warner in 1873 had co-authored with Mark Twain The Gilded Age, a novel which lent its name to an era. Earlier, Warner had written two long series of editorials for the Hartford Courant, later republished as books. His style of writing evoked the

pleasures of rural life and the enjoyment of familiar things. His work revealed the diverse interests of a catholic mind. It was a "kind of writing that suggests conversation and music and friendly interruptions."* Certainly Warner's style was

*Mrs. James T. Fields, Charles Dudley Warner, (New York, McClure, Phillips & Co., 1904), p. 35.

alien to the factual, scientific, crop-reporting kind of jouranlism advocated by Franklin Ford.

In a remarkable address on "The American Newspaper" delivered to the Social Science Association in 1881, Warner admitted his dismay at the loss of a common sense literary quality in the press, a development he blamed on the technological organization of the newspaper. "Editorial discrimination," he said, "has not kept pace with the facilities. We are overpowered with a mass of undigested intelligence, collected, for the most part, without regard to value." Many newspapers had become nothing more than "a sort of waste-basket at the end of a telegraph wire." This machine for collecting news was beyond management, and was, perhaps, contributing to the unfortunate mental disease of modern man. In a long but striking paragraph, Warner echoed Beard's recently published arguments:

> The characteristic of our modern civilization is sensitiveness, or, as the doctors say, nervousness. Perhaps the philanthropists would term it sympathy. No doubt an exciting cause of it is the adaptation of electricity to the transmission of facts and ideas. The telegraph we say has put us in sympathy with all the world. And we reckon this enlargement of nerve contact somehow a gain. Our bared nerves are played upon by a thousand wires. Nature no doubt has a method of hardening or deadening them to these shocks, but nevertheless every person who reads is a focus for the excitements, the ills, the troubles of all the world. In addition to his local pleasures and annoyances, he is in a manner compelled to be a sharer in the universal uneasiness. It might be worth while to inquire what effect this exciting accumulation of the news of the world upon an individual or a community has upon happiness and upon character. Is the New England man any better able to bear or deal with his extraordinary climate by the daily knowledge of the weather all over

> the globe? Is a man happier or improved in character by the woeful tale of a world's distress and apprehension that greets him every morning at breakfast?*

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*"The American Newspaper," American Social Science Association, 14 (1881) p. 62. Also published as The American Newspaper, (Boston, James R. Osgood & Co., 1881).

Here Warner has expressed a concern for the integrity of local conditions, and has questioned the worth of centalized national and international communication. Are such things even worth knowing, he asked. Such second thoughts never entered the writings of Franklin Ford. Warner was not questioning the veracity of the reports produced by the organized machine of intelligence. Rather he questioned the expense in human and community terms of a preoccupation with facts and the destruction of distance achieved by the telegraph.

Some of these literary complaints have about them the sound of despair for a passing age, as does the modern cry that there is no "good news" in the paper. Examination of such comments, however, often reveals an entirely different philosophy of what the report should be, that is, a personal or literary account of life rather than the cold, factual images of the scientific report. The literary arguments presented an alternative perspective on journalism. These arguments denied that fact was superior to opinion and interpretation, preferred local understandings to national organization, and decried the effects of steam-power and telegraphy on communities and individuals.

Finally, the argument centered on the content of the report. Charles Dudley Warner felt journalism must walk a fine line between literature and common sense. The report "must have something of the charm of the one [literature] and the steadiness and sagacity of the other [common sense], or it will fail to please."*

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*"The American Newspaper," p. 57.

Benjamin Franklin, with his wide ranging curiosity and ability to communicate "came as near as anyone ever did to marrying common-sense to literature," Warner thought. "He was what somebody said Carlyle was, and what the American editor ought to be, a vernacular man."

The reporter as "vernacular man," tied to the culture, the language and the people of a particular region, presents certain contrasts to the conception of the "diurnal man" suggested by Franklin Ford and later developed by John Dewey. These contrasts offer us a clue to the tensions and incompatibilities in the scientific ideal of the report. The kind of literary report revered by Warner appeared outmoded in the rapidly changing society of the 1890's. The scientific report, however, was itself of limited value to society. Ford, for instance, found it necessary to constantly proclaim his "diurnal man" as the replacement for the typical man of letters, thus unintentionally revealing that the literary style could not be casually abandoned. The scientific and literary styles are frequently complimentary, and attempts to eliminate one or the other merely result in uncovering particular weaknesses inherent in an unbalanced approach to the organization of communication.

The Chicago School

Few attempts have been made in this century to intellectually wed the scientific and the literary perspectives on journalism. One such effort--which can only be briefly touched upon here--was made over a period of roughly twenty years by the scholars of the Chicago School of Social Thought. No other intellectual standpoint has accorded such importance to the role of the newspaper in society. Philosopher and social thinker John Dewey paved the way with his investigations of the national society in the 1920's. Robert Park, a newspaperman and sociologist, examined in the 1930's the literary quality of the human interest story and the critical position of journalism in modern society. The attempt to incorporate both the literary

and scientific modes of thought in their reconceptualization of journalism stands as one of the unique achievements of the Chicago School.*

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*Park, Dewey, W. I. Thomas and George Herbert Mead all wrote on aspects of news and journalism. See for example Dewey's Public and Its Problems (1927), Park's "Natural History of the Newspaper," "News as a Form of Knowledge," and The Immigrant Press. Thomas used the newspaper as source material in his monumental The Polish Peasant; see also "Leadership, Education and the Press." Mead wrote on "The Nature of Aesthetic Experience," which also investigated the nature of news.

Franklin Ford directly influenced John Dewey's thinking. The two men first met in the 1890's while Dewey was teaching at the University of Michigan. Ford had carried his ideas for a scientific organization of intelligence to a half dozen East Coast universities. He compared his cold reception to that of Sir Henry Bessemer had he attempted to introduce the iron industry to the new chemistry of steel. Dewey listened eagerly, however, and Ford stayed on to write his "Draft of Action." That Dewey was deeply touched by Ford's line of thought is evident not only from his later writings, but by his own admission.

Nearly forty years after their initial encounter, Dewey restated Ford's main thesis in The Public and Its Problems (1927). Dewey added, however, a concern for the integrity of communities and neighborhoods that was more characteristic of the literary perspective.

"A Genuine Social Science"

Instead of beginning with the prediction of the reorganization of society based on the new technologies, Dewey had the advantage of looking backward in time at the demise of the small-town community. What he saw in retrospect was not simply a physical breakdown of social relations. It was also a problem of access to knowledge and a problem of communication of social inquiry. He perceived the

intellectual breakdown of the small town. Professionals and intellectuals in fields such as medicine, law, economics, teaching, administration and even in business and agriculture, using long lines of communication set by the telegraph and railroad, had abandoned local, vertical social relationships in favor of horizontal professional ties on a national scale.* They identified with other

*See Robert Wiebe, The Search For Order (1967).

experts on a national level rather than locally with their neighbors in a range of occupational and social groups. Part of the social change of the 1890's and beyond was the result of this professionalization of intellect and expertise. The breakdown of the community which Dewey so regretted was directly affected by the exclusion of the public from the knowledge it needed to understand the consequences of action. Problems were not conceived of nationally and the solutions demanded combined intelligence. Local knowledge no longer sufficed. Yet the general public and the local community were, as Dewey said, excluded from the "lap of intelligence" which had made the small-town community a competent and viable social organization. Here Dewey was being pulled in two directions by his attachments to the Midwestern small town and to the promise of a nationally integrated communication system.

Seeking a reintegration of social relations, Dewey restated Ford's principal ideas. The essential prerequisites for the emergence of the public and the community were two: a "genuine social science" or free social inquiry, and a "full and moving communication" of that knowledge to the society at large.

Dewey recognized as did Ford before him that the university scholar had defected from society. Scientists and experts capable of conducting a "genuine social science" were blocked from participation in the common life of the community. They stood behind a scientific inquiry which had been cast in a "highly specialized

language" and remained "a mystery in the hands of initiates," according to Dewey. Hence the public was eclipsed by its exclusion from social knowledge. The first order of business, then, was to pry scientists out of their isolated social position and transform them into a group dedicated to the conscious building of community knowledge. Their knowledge required circulation. Dewey, like Ford, proposed the daily newspaper as the medium between these "inquiry men" and the community.

"So accustomed are we to [the sensational] method of collecting, recording and presenting social changes," wrote Dewey, "that it may well sound ridiculous to say that a genuine social science would manifest its reality in the daily press, while learned books and articles supply and polish tools of inquiry. But the inquiry which alone can furnish knowledge as a precondition of public judgments must be contemporary and quotidian. Even if social sciences as a specialized apparatus of inquiry were more advanced than they are, they would be comparatively impotent in the office of directing opinion on matters of concern to the public as long as they are remote from application in the daily and unremitting assembly and interpretation of 'news.'"* In many ways, this is an echo of Ford's "forward movement

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*Public and Its Problems, p. 180-81.

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of consciousness," which would put "every expert...at the end of a wire."* The

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*Municipal Reform, p. 21-22.

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news report would not only be "scientifically" collected, its very substance would be "science."

Dewey was well aware his proposal called for a "kind of knowledge and insight" which did not yet exist. He was also aware his proposal put him in something of a dilemma. But many of the tensions in his ideas surface only when looked at from

the perspective of the debate between the literary and scientific report and the implications of each. Dewey hoped to combine the more desirable aspects of each mode of thought and to discard the weaknesses. The dilemma he encountered, however, was characteristic of a number of progressive thinkers. His proposals fell apart if shared information did not dissolve social disagreement; if nationally integrated communication was not compatible with competent local communities; or if the monopoly of knowledge held by experts was not to be easily dissolved by a collaboration with a professional, journalistic class. The result -- which was a prime fear of the literary perspective on journalism -- might be an ever increasing gap between ordinary people with their experiential wisdom, and a specialized reporter of scientific knowledge.

To Robert E. Park fell the task of trying to reconcile this tension between the scientific and literary report. While still at the University of Michigan, John Dewey had introduced Franklin Ford to Park, then an ambitious newspaperman. In his "Autobiographical Note," Park said it was at about that time "the newspaper and news became my problem."*

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*Race and Culture, p. v.

The direct influence of Franklin Ford was recognized by Park himself, but it is not as obvious in his writings as it was in Dewey's. Ford's terms pop up occasionally in Park's articles. Ford referred to the "natural history" of governments and of news reporting in his 1903 treatise, Municipal Reform. Park later wrote a famous article titled "The Natural History of the Newspaper" (1923), and the natural history idea grew into an entire school of urban studies.

Park viewed the history of the newspaper as the development and survival of a social institution, not as a product consciously created by far-seeing publishers and editors. Thus, he directed his attention to the nature of the institution and the nature of news itself.

In "News as a Form of Knowledge," Park describes two kinds of knowledge which roughly correspond to what we have here called literary and scientific perspectives, though his terms come from William James. "Acquaintance with" is the knowledge one acquires from personal and firsthand encounters with the world and life. It is "our knowledge of other persons and human nature." The other kind is "knowledge about." That is the logical, philosophical and scientific kind of knowledge gained by substituting words, concepts, and a logical order for the natural course of events. "Knowledge about," he said, was easily communicated and was likely to be found in the newspaper. But "acquaintance with," if it got communicated at all, would be found in the form of practical maxims and wise saws rather than as scientific hypotheses. "Nevertheless," Park declared, "a wide and intimate acquaintance with men and things is likely to be the bulwark of most sound judgment in practical matters as well as the source of those hunches upon which experts depend in perplexing situations and of those sudden insights which, in the evolution of science, are so frequently the prelude to important discoveries."*

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*Social Control and Collective Behavior, p. 36.

Park appropriately became concerned with how and why the human interest story--the most direct attempt at communicating the "acquaintance with" or literary kind of knowledge--grew to play such an important role in the presentation of news. His primary interest was in its function as a replacement for village and small-town social processes. The newspaper was serving modern society as a guide to manners and life. That function was normally handled by gossip, personal contact and tradition. Thus, Park frequently looked upon the newspaper, through its use of the human interest story, as a form of art and literature.

His investigation of news as literature and art is one of the rare attempts in American intellectual history when a serious scholar tried to relate the newspaper

to the primary processes of social organization. But Park did not succeed in integrating the ideal of the old community and the literary style with the conception of news as science. There still remains a fundamental split between the human interest element in news and the dissemination of science through the pages of the newspaper and magazine. It is a conflict dating from the age of the telegraph.

The reaction to the "new" journalism of the 1960's provides a measure of the degree to which this long-standing historical debate has been forgotten or neglected. In the 1960's, the "new" journalism reintroduced a literary consciousness. The debate over the "new" versus the "precision" journalism has been carried out in terms similar to the debate between the "vernacular man" and the "diurnalist." Even the extended biological metaphors of Marshall McLuhan reopened the issue of the electric disease of nervousness. The "new" journalism of the 1960's was greeted as radical. But in terms of scientific and literary styles of reporting, the "new" journalism is a development akin to the conservative reaction to the effects of the telegraph which we have seen occurring since the 1890's.

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